

DISSERTATION

ON THE

EXPULSION

OF THE

MOORS FROM SPAIN,

AND THE

PROTESTANTS FROM FRANCE

AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.

ADDRESS TO THE

PROVOST and SENIOR FELLOWS of Trinity College, Dublin;

AND

By them honoured with the first Premium for Composition
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DISSERTATION, &c.

THAT Civil Society is necessary to the Happiness of Man, and that the Welfare of Individuals is best provided for by the Establishment of political Communities, have been, from the earliest Ages, the uniform Sentiments of the wisest and worthiest of the human Race: Sentiments not more forcibly impressed by the Conviction of Reason, than the Cogency of Feeling. Their Wants enforcing its Necessity, and their Hopes anticipating its Utility, Philosophers and Legislators found their Persuasions to Union and Confederacy powerfully seconded by the strongest Impulses of the human Heart. Conscious, however, of the Strength of unruly Passions, and of the Weakness of civil Sanctions without some adventitious Aid, the first Framers of Government wisely invoked the Assistance of Religion to strengthen its Laws,

to inculcate its Duties, and to impress, with irresistible Force, the Practice of those Virtues which, tho' essential to the Well-being of Society, it can neither enjoin, enforce, nor reward.

EXPERIENCE evincing the salutary Influence of Religion on Government, the Wicked and the Weak, joining, as in a common Cause, have from thence endeavoured to resolve all religious Impressions into the Effects of the artful Inventions of prudent Legislators: a Calumny which it is needless to refute, the consenting Testimony of all Mankind, in all Ages and all Nations, combining with the Voice of Reason to prove its Falseness. The purer the Principles of any Religion are, so much the greater Aid must it lend to the Support of Society, as long as those Principles are adhered to with Affection, and cultivated with Care: From whence we might naturally conclude, that Christianity, that noblest System of Faith and Conduct, should be productive to the Community of only benign Effects, bestowing Prosperity on the State, and Happiness on the Subject. Yet it is a Fact, which neither can nor ought to be denied, that since the Propagation of Christianity, a new Phenomenon, of the most baleful Aspect, has appeared in the World, destroying the Peace, and embittering the Enjoyment, of social Life.

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Persecution for Religious Opinions, “ * sprouting up like “ the Sucker of a great Tree,” has reared its Head aloft, and, sheltering under its Branches the obscenest Birds of Night, has exposed the Gospel to Censure, and to Reproach.

THE Pretenders to philosophic Penetration, struck with a Circumstance at once so obvious and so extraordinary, have laboured to convert it into a Proof against the Truth of Christianity; by shewing that the Influence of that Faith is hurtful to the Welfare of Society, and consequently subversive of one main End proposed by eternal Wisdom in our Creation. Without labouring in the Mine of Antiquity, or unfolding the Records of distant Centuries, they bring their Observations more home to the present Time, enlarging, with wondrous Complacency, on the Expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and of the Protestants from France and the Low Countries: Transactions recent in their Periods, and notorious in their Circumstances. If then it can be proved, that these Transactions are not to be attributed to Christianity, that they were contrary to its Genius, and condemned by

* Lord Bolingbroke's Works, Vol. IV. Page 523, 4to.

its Precepts, it may tend to lessen the Prejudice arising against it on that Account. And a Prejudice it must evidently appear to every honest and ingenuous Mind, which recollects the System of Religion professed by those who caused these Persecutions: A System as subversive of genuine Christianity as it is, in its Consequences, of Humanity and common Sense.

SHOULD it appear that these Expulsions were as contrary to Morals, to Policy, and to the Interests of Commerce as they were to Religion; that whilst Humanity abhors Reason abjures them; the Conviction thence arising must deeply impress the thoughtful Mind with a proper Sense of their Enormity, and strongly dispose it to an Aversion from such Violences, and all the other Outrages of Persecution. Without any profound Investigations (to which we pretend not) perhaps these Points may be established, to the Satisfaction of the religious and moral Enquirer: And even they, who despise religious and neglect moral Considerations, may be convinced of their destructive Influence by the combined Testimony of Experience and of History; a Testimony indisputably intitled to the utmost Weight, the maturest Consideration. But to overlook the Examples which History affords is one of the most prevalent, and at the same

same Time one of the most fatal Errours of those to whom the Reins of Government are committed in Society: For as it is remarked by the great * Historian, that one principal End aimed at by him in writing his History was to furnish Mankind with Examples, by the Consideration of which they might be enabled to act with Propriety in present Circumstances; so the Page of History in general, and his Writings in particular, lay open to the Contemplation of the Considerate and Unprejudiced the amplest Information and the soundest Instruction. By revolving the wise Conduct, or pernicious Measures of States and Governments, the Mind of the Intelligent is taught what to pursue, what to avoid: And without the often-severe Discipline of Experience is qualified to reap its richest Fruits.

YET daily Observation evinces how little this Knowledge is regarded, and manifests the Contempt with which its Notices are received. Tho' it is the Prerogative of History to offer Instruction to Princes yet they, of all Mortals, seem least to regard its Instructions: for, if this were not the Case, could the Folly of any Mind, altho' intoxicated with the Delirium of absolute Power, ever dream of subduing

* Thucydides, Lib. I.

by external Force the free-born Will of Man; or think of establishing an Uniformity of religious Belief, notwithstanding all History teemed with Instances of its Impossibility? Could the Two * Philips of Spain, or † Louis of France have been induced to let loose the Fury of Persecution against their unoffending Subjects, had they listened to the Voice of Reason, or attended to the Information of Experience?

PERSECUTION for religious Opinions is, indeed, the peculiar Blemish of modern Times, and as the Princes whom we have mentioned eminently distinguished themselves in adding Fuel to its Flame, before too strong, and causing it to burn with ten-fold Vigour, it may not be useless to review their Conduct, and to consider the Propriety of their Measures. The Expulsion of the Moors from Spain, of the Protestants from France and the Low Countries, were at the Time Events great and important, and have been attended with Consequences weighty and momentous. In whatsoever Light we view them, and in various Lights may they be viewed, they appear

* Second and Third.

† The Fourteenth.

equally

equally inconsistent and indefensible, injurious and destructive. Whether actuated by Religion, or impelled by Morals; whether influenced by political or induced by commercial Considerations, we regard their Influence, they seem alike absurd and abominable.

- I. To say that Religion urged them on, that Christianity encouraged them, is, with a prophane and even blasphemous Presumption, to insult the Attributes of the Most High, and to traduce his most benevolent Dispensation to Man. From the whole Spirit of Christianity, nothing can be more averse than religious Persecution; it every where enjoining lenient Mercy, and complacent Kindness to the Mistaken and the Erroneous. Far different from persecuting Violence were the Means used by its Divine Author, to convince the Gainsayer; Means alike admirable and amiable, and well-framed to warm the Affections, and to determine the Will. Once, and but once, did the Impetuosity of his Followers Passions overcome the Reverence due to his Exhortation and Example; when invoking his avenging Power, they demanded Fire from Heaven to consume their Enemies; and when they received that gentle Rebuke and Admonition, so worthy of his benevolent Mind, that
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“ * they knew not what Manner of Spirit they were of.” To Minds not tinctured with Prejudice, nor imbued with Enthusiasm, such a Condemnation of a persecuting Temper, and that pronounced by the highest Authority, must be entirely decisive; and with a peculiar Strength of Outline, mark Toleration as a most striking Feature of Christianity. Much purer in its Principle, much nobler in its Object, than to rest satisfied with external Shews of Service; its Efforts are directed to enlighten the Understandings, to soften the Hearts, and to incline the Wills; not to bow the Bodies, to subjugate the Reason, or to enslave the intellectual Powers of Man. But Common Sense conspires with Religion to render Persecution odious to Christians; for they know that Force can make only the outward Man comply, and as Religion is seated in the Mind, whose Determinations Reason, and not Violence, alone can influence; it must inevitably be left free and unbiaſſed to cherish its own Sentiments, to entertain its own Opinions.

YET, perhaps we shall be told, that the cavil of Words can not overturn the Testimony of Fact, nor speculative

* St. Luke, Ch. ix. Ver. 55.

Theories counterbalance the Evidence of Experience; that the Evils complained of were perpetrated by Princes eminently actuated by religious Zeal, and urged on by the bloody Ministers of a sanguinary Faith. What then was the Faith which those Princes professed, which those Priests preached? It was Popery, that Corruption of Religion, and Bane of Society; which, diametrically opposite to the Spirit of Christianity, demands the Belief of the most absurd Doctrines, dignified with the Name of Mysteries, the Practice of the most superstitious Rites, and labours to extort a stupid Bigotry and implicit Resignation, by the Sword of Tyranny, and the Torch of Persecution. It was the infernal Genius of that pernicious System, which sanctified the inhuman Cruelties of Alva* and Lerma†, and hallowed the merciless Deeds of Louis‡:

* Governour of the Netherlands for Philip the Second, and the noted Agent of his Cruelties.

† The Duke of Lerma was Prime Minister to Philip the Third, and the principal Instigator of the Expulsion of the Moors, which was executed with peculiar Savageness and Perfidy. For which Service he was rewarded by the Court of Rome, with a Cardinal's Cap, in order to protect him from the Vengeance of the Spanish Nobles, in the succeeding Reign of Philip the Fourth.

‡ The well-known Revoker of the Edict of Nants.

covering with the flimsy Veil of Church Authority and Church Interest, the flagitioufness of their Actions. Since then these were caused by Superstition, not Religion; by a Scheme of Priestly Fraud, raised on the Ruins, not on the Foundations of the Gospel; in vain are the Evidence of Experience, and the Testimony of Fact produced to evince, that the Expulsion of the Moors and Protestants from Spain, France, and the Low-Countries, was either caused or countenanced by Religion.

- II. BUT these Transactions were not more contrary to the Principles of Religion, than prejudicial to the Cause of moral Virtue: a Consideration which, even among Statesmen, might deserve some Regard. For, as no Nation can flourish, nor endure for any Length of Time, where Morals are neglected, much less where the natural Tendency of the Measures of Government is to deprave and corrupt them, by executing Schemes which produce these Effects, they become Traitors to the State; and (what in general they are more anxious about) eventual Destroyers of their own Importance. Now, Persecution inevitably corrupts the Morals of Men, by encouraging Treachery, and by breaking the Bonds of the closest Connections; by exciting Dissention, Enmity and Hatred; and by rendering Hypocrisy in some measure necessary to

to Self-preservation: thus proving herself the odious Mother of an odious Offspring. Her inveterate Malice, eager after its Prey, holds forth Rewards to Treachery, and Bribes to Ingratitude: but these are luxuriant and poisonous Weeds, under which no Crop of Moral Virtues can ever flourish. Hence Dissention is spread throughout the State, and the constant Concomitants of Dissention, Enmity and Hatred. These are, moreover, inflamed by reiterated Injuries and Insults; whilst Discontent, *breathes a browner Horror* on the Malignity of their Lot, and all combine their Force to deprave, if not destroy, every generous Affection of the Soul. Hence the dearest Charities of Life are dissolved, it frequently arming Friend against Friend, Brother against Brother, nay even the Parent against the Child: by which Means, a total Disregard of Moral Principle begins to sprout up, and speedily thriving in that rank Soil, soon sheds the Seeds of Iniquity and Profligacy through all the neighbouring Regions.

As unlimited Acquiescence in the prescribed Doctrines is the only Means of Safety, and as the Bulk of Mankind never did, and probably never will, possess that Strength of Mind, necessary to brave the Storm of Persecution; Hypocrisy is assumed as a Safeguard against
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Destruction,

Destruction, and outward Compliances are paid in order to avert the Horrors of impending Death. Thus an infamous Duplicity is reconciled to the Mind, and, Habit at length completing what Necessity had begun, Integrity of Heart and Simplicity of Manners vanish together, leaving the Mind influenced by a motley Compound of Deceit, of Fear, and of Fraud. To verify by Facts the Circumstances which we have mentioned, to establish by Examples their Truth and Certainty, would be an easy Task, did not their Notoriety render it useless; proving beyond a Doubt the fatal Influence of Persecution on Moral Virtue.

AND if we address ourselves to those who, abstracting from all other, adhere solely to Moral Considerations, can it be necessary to mention the Absurdity, the Cruelty, the Barbarity of Persecution? Need we attempt to delineate a Picture of its inventive Vengeance, of its Engines of Torture, of its Instruments of Death; or rouse the humane Affections, by portraying its Enormities? No: to such we shall barely hint, that it is subversive of the Rights of Conscience, those unalienable Rights, if any are unalienable, bestowed on Man by the eternal Source of all Existence: and that, though human Actions may be justly cognizable at human Tribunals, yet for our religious

gious Sentiments, our religious Principles we can be alone accountable to the Author of all Nature, and the Giver of all Reason.

IN what Light then can the Moralift view those who expell from their Homes Millions of guiltless Subjects, who tear Husbands from their Wives, Children from their Parents, or consign both to the Flames, in the Prosecution of such an End; or what Terms of Reprobation can he find strong enough to condemn them? To continue, to confirm, and to propagate Errour, he knows to be the Effect of Persecution, and that, abetting Ignorance and Immorality, it emasculates the Mind by its natural Progress, and violates the clearest Dictates of Eternal Wisdom impressed on the Heart of Man: whilst (to use the glowing Language of Poetry*) Bolts of destroying Thunder rush from its Mouth; its very Breath spreads Conflagrations around. Without regarding it as condemned at the Bar of Religion, the Moralift finds sufficient Cause to condemn it, from its injuring the Sympathies of Friendship, the Feelings of Humanity, and the strongest and the best Affections of the Heart: from its Violation

* Fulmen ab ore venit; frondes afflatibus Ardent. Ovid, Lib. 8.

of those Duties, which he is conscious are essential to the Welfare of Society, and the Happiness of Man; and from its Tendency to corrupt and to debase every praise-worthy Principle.

III. BUT, tho' Religion abhors, and Morality shudders at Persecution, in every Shape, and under every Form, and still more when she appears in that hideous Garb wherein the gloomy Tyrants of Spain, and the fluttering Despot of France arrayed her, it may be urged, that political Motives induced a Necessity of doing what the precise Rules of Religion, and the strict Precepts of Morality may, perhaps, disapprove: but that the extensive Projects of mighty States are not to be subjected to such partial Judgments; it being necessary, before we determine thereon, to consider all their attendant Circumstances, and to appreciate to each their just Value and Estimation. For, as in the Structure of any splendid Edifice, it is not the Proportion of the Columns, the Beauty of the Capitals, nor the Elegance of the Mouldings, which, to the skilful, point out the Genius of the Architect, but the united Effect of all, and the just Arrangement of the whole: so it is not some one or two particular Consequences flowing from Measures of Policy, which indicate the

the Statesman's Sagacity, but their combined Result, their general Operation, and their extensive Influence.

POLICY, then, it seems, required the Expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and of the Protestants from France and the Netherlands; Policy, we are taught, may have authorized Persecution. Since this is a new Discovery, left for the quicker Sagacity, and deeper Penetration of the modern World to find out, let us scrutinize its Merit and Importance. Tho' urged loudly and pompously, there may be Reason to suspect its Propriety; there may be Cause to doubt its Utility. There is not a more acknowledged political Aphorism, than that the principal Riches of a State consist of numerous Subjects: whatsoever, therefore, diminishes their Number, must materially injure the Society; and that Persecution is adapted to effect this, all allow. Indeed, were it denied, the Case of those States which are the present Objects of our Attention, would quickly establish its Truth, and confound the frontless Impudence of the Denial: for, by the Expulsion of the Moors, Spain (a Country never, in these latter Ages, well peopled) lost above a Million of Inhabitants; and by that of the Protestants, the Netherlands and France more than three Millions of Subjects. Such Depopulation did this politic Measure, as it is called, spread through the Countries

tries where it was exercised: desolating the most fertile Provinces, and even thinning the Ranks of Mankind. How inconsistent, then, with its professed Principle does it appear! how subversive of the wisest End of sound Policy! To encrease the Number of Subjects is the Aim of the one; to lessen their Multitude is the Effect of the other.

NOR is the latter more exorbitant in the Exercise of its Power, than it is mischievous in its Consequences: for the Impolicy of these Expulsions, and of every Species of Persecution, further appears by reflecting that they alienated, and it ever will alienate, from the Government, the Affections of many of its Subjects; that best Possession of any Prince or State. Had these Expulsions been complete, or did Persecution ever effectuate its perfect Work, this Objection, we grant, would be as absurd as nugatory; but, since we know the former to be false, and the latter impossible, it cannot justly be deemed a futile Assertion. Whilst equal Protection and Security is afforded to the Subject, the State may expect, and in general will find, the Hands and Hearts of all to be united in its Support: but if partial Preferences and undue Distinctions are made, where the Parties are equally meritorious; if Cruelty, ripened into a System, acts with unrelenting Vengeance against one Part of the Community, and this merely for
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a Difference of Opinion about some metaphysical or theological Subtilties ; Dissatisfaction and Disgust will inevitably prevail, and Disaffection to the Government infallibly follow. The Rage of Party will combine with the Fury of Persecution to encrease Discontent, and both, proceeding with an uniform Gradation, will at last render Enmity to the Constitution, and Hatred of the State, favourite and predominant Principles in the Breasts of Numbers. Such were their Effects in Spain, in France, in the Netherlands ; fomenting Plots, causing Conspiracies, and finally producing all the Havock of Civil Wars : Effects sufficiently obvious, and sufficiently odious, to ascertain the profound Penetration of their wise Abettors.

If, in their triumphant Career of Folly and Iniquity, they had for one Moment attended to Experience, or listened to the Voice of Reason, they would have learnt that two other most pernicious Consequences were likely to arise from their Measures : Consequences which it was as infamous for them not to foresee, as injurious not to prevent. The first was breaking the Spirits of the People, thus enervating their Courage, and rendering them unequal to great Exploits : for the fatal Influence of Persecution ever has this Effect ; as by bowing the Soul under the Lash of ecclesiastical Tyranny, its Tone is

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weakened,

weakened, its Vigour decayed, and the Contagion of impure Connection infecting its Powers, all its Faculties become less adequate to manly Exertions. A stupid Credulity precluding the Information of rational Knowledge, a careless Listlessness by Degrees weeding out the public Affections, and a tame Acquiescence under spiritual, fitting and subduing the Mind to temporal Slavery, Self-love and Self-enjoyment gain Possession of the Heart, attended by their usual Train of Profusion, Want, Venality, and Dependence; whilst Luxury and Avarice, proceeding with an equal Pace, destroy every generous Passion, and, with their pestilential Breath, stifle each Attempt at illustrious Deeds. So that, accustomed to the servile Submission enforced by Persecution, the Strength of the Mind is broken, its Courage depressed, and the Efforts of Magnanimity curbed and restrained.

In Addition to this, let there be observed, as the second Consequence to which we have alluded, the compelling many inveterate and often able Foes to seek for Shelter in hostile Regions; a Circumstance frequently productive of the most fatal Effects to the Community. As no Doubt can be entertained of their Resentment, which every Passion of the human Heart impels them to gratify; so they, more generally than is commonly thought,

thought, possess an Ability of indulging it to the utmost. For as Men are formed by their Pursuits, great Occasions always creating great Men, and as in the Convulsions caused by Persecution, the Abilities of all are called forth into Action; they whose elevated Genius looks down with Contempt on its Terroures, naturally taking the Lead, feel a new Spirit roused within them, their Faculties more exalted, their Sentiments more enlarged. Hence, when all Efforts proving vain, all Industry fruitless, they are obliged to submit to Necessity, and to take Refuge in foreign Lands; they depart not barely depriving their Country of a private Citizen, but robbing her of Abilities, whose Exercise might promote, and whose Exertions protect her dearest Interests. Inflamed with a settled and rational Abhorrence of their Persecutors, in every Scheme of Policy, Inclination, as well as Interest, will lead them to counteract their Views, to oppose their Designs; whilst in the Day of Battle, and in the Moment of impending Danger, the Voice of the illustrious Schomberg expressed the Idea which swells in every such Bosom, * "*Allons, Messieurs; voila vos Persecuteurs.*" These, then, were Consequences which might

* Vide Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. III. Page 566. 4to.

have been foreseen, which should have been prevented by the politic Patrons of Persecution; as by the one they injured their national Grandeur, their national Strength; by the other they endangered their domestic Peace, and diminished their external Security; and by both, opposed the clearest Principles of Wisdom and of Policy.

SHOULD it then be said, that the Reasoning which we have used is fallacious and inconclusive, as magnifying incidental Ills, and amplifying real Inconveniencies; without observing, that the Evils complained of were transient, whilst the good Effects of the Expulsion of the Moors and Protestants were permanent: it will be proper to examine those perennial Blessings which Persecution is alledged to have ripened and matured. They, in general, range themselves under two Heads; the one comprehending the public Tranquillity arising from an Uniformity of religious Tenets, and an Unanimity in religious Persuasion; the other containing the warm Attachment and ready Obedience to Government, ever springing from a consenting Harmony of religious Sentiments in the People: Blessings which Bigots and Slaves will be loud to extol, but which, at the Tribunal of unprejudiced Reason, may not, perhaps, be found worthy of much Celebration.

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THAT an Uniformity of religious Tenets, an Unanimity in religious Persuasion, are highly desirable, is readily granted; but it is only when they are caused by Conviction, when they are formed by Knowledge; as when effected by Persecution they become, in Truth, the Curses of the Commonwealth. For destroying all free Enquiry, all manly Discussion of the most important Points, they either deliver up Reason subdued, bound, chained to Authority; or waste its Strength, and break its Force in the Investigation of idle Subtilties, impertinent Paradoxes, and fantastick Refinements. Hence, as Men are wont to rush from one Extreme to another, many are induced to fly from the Grossness and Servility of Superstition to the glaring Impieties of Irreligion, and the Absurdities of Atheism. Thus the main Pillars of Society are shaken, for without Religion no Society can exist; till profligate Wickedness and avowed Prostitution filling up the Measure of its Woes, leave it a Prey prepared for the first Invader. In this Manner Persecution lays the foundation of the State's overthrow, and the boasted Tranquillity becomes not a Symptom of Health, but a Prognostic of Dissolution.

WITH regard to the second permanent Blessing attributed to its Operation, we must observe, that a rational
Attachment,

Attachment, and willing Obedience, is readily, without its Aid, paid to every wise and virtuous Government; and that those which are weak and wicked neither deserve the one, nor are intitled to the other. Persecution may indeed for a Time aid the Cause of passive Obedience and unlimited Submission; yet even here it is at length destructive; for these, equally averse from Religion and Reason, though often foolishly wished for, generally in the End destroy their own Effect. As they are apt to encourage Tyranny and Oppression in the Governours, and as Men's Feelings will ever be found too strong for their speculative Principles, however deeply impressed, these finally produce Resistance, Rebellion, and Anarchy, and expose the Commonwealth to Devastation and Destruction.

Of these Principles it is hard to say whether the Folly or the Iniquity is greatest; and surely they are the grossest Deceptions which the Impudence of Power ever imposed on the Credulity of Weakness. But, whilst to Minds enlightened by Science, or enlarged by Observation, they must always appear as pernicious in their Consequences, as false in their Principle; even Tyrants and Sycophants, who admire and extol them, will allow that they are not such permanent Blessings to the Community, when Effects so dreaded frequently attend their Operation. It is unnecessary,

cessary, unless for the Purpose of making a Parade of Reading, to quote the particular Incidents which establish the Certainty of our Reasoning on the firm Foundation of Fact: History abounds with them, and impresses a Conviction with Difficulty resisted.

IV. BUT there is yet another Light intimately united with political Interests, wherein the Expulsion of the Moors and Protestants may be viewed; and that is, by considering them in their Operation on Commerce. Altho' scarce any of the antient States (Tyre and Carthage excepted) seem much to have attended to commercial Interests, or to have regarded them in a political Point of View, leaving them in general to the Spirit of Enterprize or Gain, which induced Individuals to pursue them; yet the modern World has for Ages assiduously studied and cultivated their Advancement: whilst Colonies have been planted, States have been founded, and mighty Empires supported by their Aid and Influence. Inexcusable, therefore, must be that Politician, independent of all religious and moral Regards, who urges on Measures materially prejudicial to Commerce, and through it to the Vitals of the State.

Now

Now the Expulsions which we consider operated thus, and Persecution in general constantly thus operates ; for they deprived Agriculture and Manufactures, the staple Commodities of commercial Intercourse, of many laborious, many useful Hands, without which the former cannot be carried on, nor the latter improved to Perfection. Whenever this happens, the Slumber of idle Negligence is wont to succeed to the active Efforts of Industry. Indolence and Ignorance equally advance ; and a languid Inertness pervading the Society, from the Despair of doing much, nothing is done. From hence immediately spring the Decay of Agriculture, the Decline of Manufactures, and their usual Attendant the Desolation of the Country ; the Balance of Trade now changing its Position, and quickly preponderating against the State. The Lands lying untilled, as well for want of Hands as Skill to cultivate them, the Necessaries of Life are forced to be imported, and Famine often to be averted by the ruinous Export of Bullion. For as Manufactures (between the Success of which and Agriculture there is a more intimate Union than is commonly imagined) now verge rapidly to ruin, Money remains as the only Medium of Trade ; which, exercised under these various Disadvantages, accelerates, with hasty Strides, the Impoverishment of the Community. From the Decline of Manufactures, those
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noted Marts of Commerce, which had grown into Distinction from their Influence, dwindle into Insignificance: populous Cities, forsaken by their Inhabitants, totter to their Fall; and deserted Ports, and neglected Harbours, afford melancholy Indications of the political Body's Health.

As it has been justly remarked, that all the Moral Virtues are closely connected; so it may be observed, that all liberal Exertions of the Mind flourish and decay together; and that, as the Decline of Manufactures evidences a Decline of Spirit and Ingenuity in the People, so these portend the Incurfions of barbarous Ignorance, and the Prevalence of besotted Dullness. Should any Doubt be entertained of the Justness of our Conclusions, let Spain and the Netherlands vouch their Authenticity, and confirm their Truth; let the barren, the desolate Provinces of the former; let the decayed, the deserted Cities of the latter, evince their Rectitude. Granada and Valencia, before the Expulsion of the Moors the most fertile and populous of the Spanish Regions, have, since that Period, so far sunk in their Importance as to be little able to lend that Assistance to the rest of the Empire which they before easily afforded. Depopulation extend-

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ing

ing its Ravages, “ * the Crown of Spain hastened to its
 “ total Ruin and Destruction: the Houses of those ex-
 “ tensive Provinces being every where in Ruins, without
 “ any Body to rebuild them, and their Towns and Vil-
 “ lages lying like so many Desarts.” Antwerp, and
 Ghent, and Louvain, and Bruges, for Years the great
 Emporiums of Trade, the Seats of Commerce, the Re-
 ceptacles of Navies, have, since the Expulsion of the Pro-
 testants, fallen quickly to Decay; and their Bourses with-
 out Merchants, their Quays without Ships, their Houses
 without Inhabitants, ascertain some of the Effects of Per-
 secution on Commerce.

BUT it is also peculiarly prejudicial in another Respect,
 (and the Expulsions which we consider, were remarkably
 distinguished by it) that is, forcing into rival and un-
 friendly Nations many industrious and skilful Artificers,
 who, impelled by Interest as well as Resentment, will be
 sure there to introduce their respective Arts and Manu-

* The Words of a Memorial delivered in the Year 1618 to Philip the
 Third by a Junta that had been assembled by the King, to consider how
 the ruinous Estate of his Kingdoms might be remedied. Geddes's Tracts,
 Vol. I. Page 179.

factures.

factures. And as most Countries, where Trade has for any Time prevailed, are eminent for some peculiar Branches of it wherein they excel, a Defalcation of those Branches, or even any considerable Rivalry in them, is constantly experienced to be highly pernicious. The Spirit with which new Inventions are ever pursued, and the animated Exertions of the expelled Artisans, who are commonly fired with Resentment of their Injuries, and flushed with the Success of their first Essays, conspire to give them a Superiority over their Rivals, which they are but ill able to oppose: from whence the former rise into Notice at the Expence of the latter's Character. That these are no random Assertions, but serious Truths, both the Netherlands and France unite in proving. For by the Expulsion of the Protestants from the one, the Woollen and Linen Manufactures, long the exclusive Property of the Flemings, were introduced into England and Ireland; Countries which still maintain a Superiority in those Branches: and by the same Measure in the other, many Arts, before confined to France, were scattered over Europe; and in particular the Silk Manufacture in which the French were allowed the Pre-eminence, was established in different Nations, some of whom have attained such Perfection therein, as confessedly to exceed them in its Fabrick; a Disadvantage not entirely coun-

terbalanced by the utmost Exertions of their national Ingenuity and inventive Genius.

It should likewise be remembered, in Addition to the Evils already enumerated, that these Expulsions, so fatal in various Respects, injured Commerce in another Manner also: by lessening the internal Consumption, and diminishing the external Demand. For by them the Number of Inhabitants being thinned, the home Trade must necessarily be so far hurt, even tho' the Manufactures of the State should not decline in Estimation: and, by the Introduction of new Manufactures into foreign Nations, the Demand from Abroad lessened as much as the Use of their native Products increased among those Nations, and their Rivalry in similar Articles of Trade succeeded. New Channels for Commerce being opened, that Influx of Wealth and of Prosperity, which formerly, as from an abundant Source, poured in upon the Community, was diverted from its antient Course; and from the ingenious Efforts of Art flowing with Impetuosity fertilized the Soils of other Regions. The Difficulties and Distresses hence originating, at first affected the Merchant, that useful Member of Society, and then proceeded in a regular Progress to the Manufacturer, to the Artificer, and finally to the Government;

ment; whose Taxes both on Consumption and Exportation failing, it was obliged, by fresh Impositions, often by oppressive Exactions and arbitrary Demands, to remedy their Deficiency. Hence Trade became daily more oppressed, and hourly sunk in Esteem and Importance; the Spirit of Enterprize, so necessary to its Success, was enervated, and that of Gain, from Insecurity of Possession was rendered less ardent in its Pursuits: 'till at last the internal Supply could not answer even the internal Demand, and Raiment as well as Food was obliged to be brought from foreign Countries.

LET the State of Spain be called on to authenticate these Facts, and no other Witness will be requisite to establish their Reality. From the Time of the Moors Expulsion her Manufactures have gradually declined, her Trade languished; and tho' possessed of almost exhaustless Stores in the Fertility of her Soil, and in the Mexican and Peruvian Mines, yet is she poor, and weak, and exhausted; acting, in a great measure, but as the Factor of other Nations, and importing from them both the Fruits of the Earth, and the Products of human Ingenuity.

THUS:

THUS having considered the Expulsion of the Moors from Spain, of the Protestants from France and the Low-Countries (and through the Medium of them Persecution in general) in various Points of View, in all do they appear inhuman and unjustifiable. Beheld in a religious Light, they were absurd and abominable; in a Moral one, injurious and barbarous: as Measures of Policy, they were weak and foolish; as they influenced Commerce, pernicious and ruinous. And as from the Combination of the several Rays of Light, which, when separated by the Prismatick Glass, are seen of various Colours, there results one, uniform, candid Appearance; so from the united Force of the different Considerations of these Expulsions, which separately assumed different Appearances, there arises a permanent, unvaried Conviction of their horrid, their odious Nature. Being thus detestable, and thus destructive, how is it possible not to reprobate that System which caused them; to abhor the baleful Spirit of Popery, which, wherever predominant, marks its Course by Desolation, its Triumphs by Persecution? Bigotted and intolerant, it labours to impose Faith by the Point of the Sword, and Conviction by Force, not by Argument. Equally unfriendly to the Civil as to the religious Rights of Mankind, the Follies of its Worship would


would excite but Pity, did not the political Evil of its Principles and Doctrines raise Abhorrence.

It is needless to contrast to this Compound of priestly Fraud and ecclesiastical Tyranny, the benign Spirit of Protestantism, or to enlarge on its Influence on social Happiness: for the Experience of Ages the most enlightened and liberal has pronounced its best Eulogium. That Experience points out its Effect on civil Society and the Rights of Humanity; when inspiring Men with a just Sense of their Worth and Dignity, it taught them alike to shun the Miseries of Anarchy and the Meanness of Slavery. Its Influence on Morals, that Experience marks as not less salutary; for, by opening the Minds of Men, and emancipating them from the Shackles of an interested Casuistry, it led them unbiassed by crafty Delusions to pursue the Dictates of Reason, and the pure Precepts of Revelation: whilst, on its one Hand, appeared religious Liberty and Learning; on the other, laborious Industry and successful Commerce. Detesting Persecution in every Instance, it imparts all the Advantages of Society to all the Members of Society, however different their religious Tenets; unless where political Principles, pernicious to the State, are so interwoven with them that they cannot be separated; when indeed

indeed it must authorize Coercion and Restraint, or prove the Assassin of its own Being; and when it directs their Operation, not against a religious Sect, but a civil Faction. And by its Means the Understanding, rescued from the frantic Enthusiasm of Superstition, and the partial Prejudices of Ignorance, was instructed to search for the Authour of Nature in his Works, and to promote the general Welfare of all Mankind as his most acceptable Service.

IN the Discussion of a Subject of such Magnitude and Importance length was unavoidable, and therefore will be pardoned. Conscious of his Inability to do it full Justice, the Authour presumes not to pretend to superiour Sagacity, but, with due Deference and Respect, submits his Sentiments to the Decision of those whose Impartiality and Discernment can not be questioned. Anxious alone to justify the Rectitude of his Intentions He ventures to observe, that He has endeavoured to express the artless and undebauched Feelings of a Heart alive to the Interests of Humanity, and warmed with an ardent Concern for the Happiness of Mankind. If, in the Prosecution of this End, he has failed to evince the Truth of the Conclusions which he wished to establish, he has to lament not the Weakness of
of

of his Cause, but the Deficiency of his Abilities. Should he have succeeded, the Approbation of those to whom this ESSAY is addrest will be to him a flattering Proof of their Justness, and must imprint the Stamp of Authority on his Assertions, Deductions, and Arguments.



FINIS.